*On the Distribution of the Emigrants from Europe over the surface of
the United States.* By THE REVEREND ROBERT EVEREST.

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IN a former paper* I pointed out the greater and less tendencies to
crime and pauperism among the natives of the different countries of
Europe, resident in the United States, as shewn in tables drawn up
from the reports of prisons and almshouses (see Tables D 1, E, and
D 3, of the paper), and endeavoured to account for the phenomena
by differences of national character, attributable to institutions.
The numbers given in the tables were too small to render the results
conclusive, and it would be out of place in this Society to strengthen
the argument by the testimonies of travellers, such as that of the
celebrated John Howard, in his work on the prisons of Europe,
respecting Switzerland and Holland. We may, however, confirm
our former deductions, numerically, by attending to the following
considerations:—

The United States, in different parts of their territory, offer very
different advantages and disadvantages to a settler. Referring to
the map, we find, as was before observed, that the United States
are divided by an irregular line, running nearly east and west, into
what are called the Free States and the Slave States; and another
line might be traced, crossing this, and running nearly north and
south, which would be the boundary between the old States on the
borders of the Atlantic, and the new ones in the interior of the
country. It is true there are two new States, Florida and Alabama,
resting upon the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, but for the
purpose of our present argument, it will be sufficient to describe
the whole surface, as divided by two intersecting lines into four.
parts, or quarters, thus:—
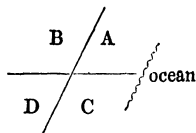
where A represents the old free States, and B the new free States;
C the old slave States, and D the new slave States.

In the first two of these, A and B, labour, as I have elsewhere
observed, is not degrading, in the third and fourth it is so.

In the old States, A and C, there are to be found most of the
conveniences and comforts of Europe, large and wealthy cities (New
York may be reckoned the third city in the world), and a rate of
wages high in comparison with what obtains in older countries. But
the land, at least most of it worth having, is cleared and settled, and
the working man finds much greater difficulty in rising to wealth,
and even to independence, than he would in the new States. There
the demand for labour is so great, that one man can hardly be got to
work for another. I was informed by a person, who had settled in

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a new tract of country, that he obtained a farm for himself by assisting another man for a year, and, though he had arrived at the spot with but one dollar in his pocket, at the end of twenty years he found himself in possession of 40,000, not by any extraordinary run of luck, but by the mere increase in the value of land and agricultural produce from the influx of new settlers.

But the whole of life in such places is a self-sacrifice. It requires a firm and resolute will to brave the solitude. There is not the social intercourse to be found in the large cities, the cheap drink shops, the theatres, and shows, and the many other amusements and comforts that solace the lot of the labourer.

The question then for our consideration is—what are the institutions which tend to form, in the greatest numbers, those provident and self-denying characters who readily resign the pleasures of life, and reckon it a prize dearer than all others, to obtain their independence?

In a former paper it was observed, that in those States where power rests with the people, the influential classes labour most assiduously in forming them to principles of morals, intelligence and industry, and, in their anxiety, they take the pains to do so by the most efficacious of all methods, the force of their own example. Like the manufacturer under free trade, their very sense of insecurity serves them instead of protection.

But in countries where the people are deprived of power, it is not the interest of the ruling body that they should be too intelligent, still less that they should obtain that peculiar kind of training which has lately been termed " the cultivation of the judgment." It may be desirable that they should be industrious, and skilful in getting money, but the more easy they are to part with it, the better. The object then, is not to make them thinking and provident, but rather to lead them astray with music and pageants, and to encourage them to leave all serious matters to their superiors. The advice to Cyrus to prevent the conquered Lydians from being troublesome, by giving them music, and theatres, and wine shops, and the "*panem et circenses*" of the Roman Emperors, are well-known cases in point.

Where, too, social position is fixed, wholly or principally, by the circumstance of birth, so that men have neither esteem and respect to hope for, nor disgrace to fear, the degraded class, and indeed every other, are tempted to pursue, as the only good within reach, the sensual indulgence of the moment.

Referring now to the diagram above described, we should naturally suppose that they who would, for the advantages of large cities, the social intercourse, the drink-shops, the theatres, the shows, accept a lower rate of wages, and abandon, if they ever had it, the hope of independence, would settle in the parts A and C, while those who would sacrifice the enjoyments of life for that same hope of independence, would be found in the greatest numbers in the new States, B and D.

Now the late American Census (1850) has given us the numbers of each European nation resident in each State of the Union, and from this I found the number of each, resident in each quarter or group of States, and from these again, the whole. Supposing this

whole to be divided into 100,000 parts, I obtained the proportion of each nation resident in each quarter, and set it down in four columns, marked A, B, C, D (See Table I.).

Taking the sum of the first and third columns $(A + C)$, and of the second and fourth $(B + D)$, the proportion of those who hang about great cities, and of those who go out into the wilds to earn their independence, was also obtained. Now, if we compare this list with those given in a previous paper of criminals and paupers (See pages 15, 16, 17, 18, D 1, D 3, E), we find the results agree tolerably well with the supposition that the natives of those countries who have the least tendency to crime and pauperism, are also those who will make the greatest sacrifices for wealth and independence. The present list differs from the previous ones in some respects. Of course the native Americans are excluded. Sweden and Denmark are here given separately; and Russia, which before was omitted on account of the smallness of its numbers, is inserted. Norway, Switzerland, and Holland, which give the smallest proportions to the alms-houses and prisons, send the greatest proportions to the new States, and the least to the old ones. Ireland, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, appear to occupy, in each case, the opposite end of the scale. British America takes place with the monarchical countries of Europe, which is the more remarkable, as from the rural habits of its scattered population, they might be expected to settle in the greatest numbers in the new states. (Compare Table D 1, of previous paper.)

But besides the division into old States and new States, there is, as we have before observed, another into free and slave States. As this is also a division into north and south, we must endeavour to make some allowance for climate, before ascertaining the proportions of each nation, which, by settling in either the one or the other, indicate their sensitiveness on the subject of degradation, and their aversion to slavery, or the contrary. For in a country which extends from lat. 49° N. to 30°, the natives of the shores of the Baltic could not be expected to settle in such large proportions in the southern parts of it, as those who came from the extreme south of Europe. Nature has made them physically unfit for such a change.

Adding then together the proportions in the same column (Table I.), for the two nations in the extreme north of Europe, and two in the south which differ least in institutions (Russia and Denmark, Spain and Portugal, and Italy), I obtained a mean correction suitable for each case, and this correction was afterwards applied to the two other nations of the Baltic (Norway and Sweden) and British America.

But as identity of origin, including language and religion, would have great effect in determining many, such as the French and Swiss to Louisiana, and the Hollanders to New York, I further corrected the list, by giving for them in these two states the same proportion to the rest of the groups C and A, respectively, as existed for the Germans, with whom there was no identity of language.

The corrected lists may be seen in Tables II. and III. In the latter, besides the proportions of those who settle in the old States and in the new $(A + C)$ and $(B + D)$ (Table I.), there is given $(A + B$ and

C + D) the proportions of those who settle in the free and in the slave States, and which may be supposed to indicate the prevalence of a feeling of aversion to slavery, and sensitiveness to degradation, or the reverse.

Some other causes of disturbance, which have not been allowed for, may yet be mentioned.

British America, which has been corrected for difference of climate, should yet be further reduced in columns A and B, for contiguity of position. An individual from this part of the world has not to quit friends and home for ever, but merely to be ferried across a lake or river, to enter the northern States of the Union.

It will be observed, that the proportions of the natives of the United Kingdom, England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, in column A + B are extremely large, but we must remember that a religious feeling of aversion to slavery has been aroused there, within the present century, that did not before exist. Not to mention that slavery, under the names of villainage and serfage, was part of the ancient British constitution, and that some sovereigns, such as Queen Elizabeth and Queen Anne, participated in the profits of the slave trade ; even so late as 1792, the House of Lords resisted the abolition of that very slave trade which is now declared piracy, and got it deferred for ten years.

We must also remember, that of the natives of the United Kingdom who go to North America, not more than 79 per cent. enter the United States. These may be supposed to be the most sensitive on the subject of degradation. If we were to include 21 per cent. more in the comparison, the ratio of 80 or 90 to 100, which is nearly that in column A + B, would be altered from 80 or 90 to 125 nearly.

There are some further irregularities in the lists, probably proceeding from smallness of numbers, or other causes. I have, therefore, added (Table IV.) the sum of the two tendencies, and their opposites. These may be expressed thus :—(A + B) + (B + D) and (C + D) + (A + C), or A + 2B + D and A + 2C + D. By taking away the parts common to both, there remain B and C for the sum of the two opposite tendencies.—See Table V.

Corrections.

The corrections were thus obtained. The mean of the numbers in column A under the heads of Prussia, Denmark, Spain and Portugal, and Italy, was taken, and from this a mean difference was obtained for each of the four numbers. The same process was gone through with the numbers for the same places in column B. The sum of the two mean differences was then taken, and divided proportionately to the numbers in columns A and B (so as not to alter the ratio existing between them), and then added or subtracted from each, as the case might be. The same mean difference was also applied to the numbers for Norway, Sweden, and British America. A similar process was gone through, with respect to the numbers for the same places in columns C and D.

The method for correcting the numbers for France, Switzerland, and Holland, has been described in the body of the paper.

Groups of States.

A.	B.	C.	D.
Maine	Michigan	Delaware	Alabama
New Hampshire	Wisconsin	Maryland	Florida
Vermont	Iowa	Virginia	Mississippi
Massachusetts	Ohio	North Carolina	Tennessee
Rhode Island	Indiana	South Carolina	Kentucky
Connecticut	Illinois	Georgia	Missouri
New York		Louisiana	Arkansas
New Jersey		Dist. of Columbia	Texas
Pennsylvania			

We have now further to say a few words on the migration of the citizens of the United States, from one part of their territory to another.

The Census of 1850 has given us an account of the number of natives of each State in the Union, resident in each of the other States. From this I have compiled the subjoined table, in which the States have been separated into groups, somewhat smaller than those of the first part of this paper. The old free States, there marked A, have been subdivided into two, which have been termed the New England and the New York groups, and the new free States also into two, which I have called the Michigan and Ohio groups. The old slave States have been subdivided into two, termed the Delaware and South Carolina groups, and the new slave States into three, the Tennessee, Alabama, and Texas groups.

Taking the first of these, the New England group, we find that 414,064 of its natives have migrated to the other free States, and but 25,832 to the slave States. Supposing the whole migration to equal 100,000, that to the free States will be represented by 94,128, and to the slave States by 5,872, numbers which would place it with Holland and Wales.—See Table III., columns A+B and C+D.

Let us next examine the second subdivision of the States marked A, which I have called the New York group.

The total amount of its migration to the other Free } 796,168
   States has been .... }

To the Slave States 90,860

Total migration 887,028

Proportion to the Free States 89,757
   ,,   Slave States 10,243

Total 100,000

In this case, the greater percentage of migration to the slave States has probably arisen from their greater proximity.

Bordering upon this New York group, to the south, lie the slave States which I have termed the Delaware group; and the contrast between the two is remarkable. While the former has sent across the boundary line, into the slave States, only 10·243 per cent. of its total migration, the latter has sent no less than 45·180 per cent. into the free States, nearly four and a half times as much, so that the

objection to crossing this line of demarcation only holds when the crossing is in a particular direction.

This will be the more clear when we compare the amount of migration which each of the above groups has sent to the two groups of new States, immediately to the west, which I have termed the Ohio (free), and the Tennessee (slave). In this case the difference in contiguity of position, and in climate, is but small.

	To the Ohio Group.	To the Tennessee Group.
The New York group, then, has sent, persons	496,544	 29,250
The Delaware group has sent..............................	267,184	 259,429

or, in proportions of the total migration of each,

	To the Ohio Group.	To the Tennessee Group.
The New York group...	55,978	 3,712
The Delaware group	34,944	 33,928

But we know something more, beyond the mere fact that so many people migrated from the slave States to the free; we also know that they were poor, or working people; for, though the slave owner may reclaim his fugitive slaves from a free State, yet if he voluntarily take them with him into a free State, they become free by law forthwith.

Summing up the whole, we find that 116,692 persons have left the old free States to reside in the slave States, and 365,328 have left the old slave States to reside in the free. The difference or loss to the slave States being 248,636.

We are now enabled to answer the question, so often asked: How is it that the slave States do not prosper? "Somehow they do not prosper," is the answer of every one. They are shunned by the free citizens of the north; and the emigrants from Europe, in search of a resting place, pass them by. Moreover, a large portion of their native population desert them, to seek beyond the boundary line an asylum.

Note.—The migration from the New States has not been taken into the account. It is trifling, and would not affect the general deductions.

TABLE I.

Showing the Numbers of the Natives of each country of Europe, resident in the Four Divisions of the United States, marked A, B, C, D.

Uncorrected List.

Natives of	Numbers.				Proportions.			
	A.	B.	C.	D.	A.	B.	C.	D.
England	165,475	83,195	13,643	11,922	60,341	30,337	4,975	4,347
Ireland........	722,535	131,493	68,972	35,202	75,405	13,723	7,198	3,674
Scotland	42,390	17,834	5,563	3,474	61,203	25,749	8,032	5,016
Wales	17,133	11,388	548	480	57,982	38,539	1,855	1,624
Germany	217,684	235,562	55,975	71,587	37,480	40,558	9,637	12,325
France	18,998	15,152	13,027	5,233	36,248	28,912	24,856	9,984
Spain and Portugal	1,555	185	1,806	501	38,423	4,571	44,626	12,380
Belgium	612	383	184	110	47,479	29,713	14,274	8,534
Holland	3,715	5,418	316	337	37,962	55,365	3,229	3,444
Italy............	1,301	263	1,241	633	37,842	7,650	36,096	18,412
Switzerland	3,125	7,187	991	1,836	23,784	54,700	7,542	13,974
Russia	823	254	134	145	60,693	18,732	9,882	10,693
Norway	540	11,573	92	307	4,316	92,495	735	2,454
Sweden	1,270	1,529	378	212	37,474	45,117	11,154	6,255
Denmark....	816	334	399	189	46,951	19,217	22,957	10,875
British America	99,289	42,498	1,197	1,807	68,574	29,351	827	1,248

Proportions of each Resident.

Natives of	In the Old States. (A + C.)	In the New States. (B + D.)
1. Norway	5,051	94,949
2. Switzerland	31,326	68,674
3. Holland	41,191	58,809
4. Germany	47,117	52,883
5. Sweden....................	48,628	51,372
6. Wales	59,837	40,163
7. France	61,104	38,896
8. Belgium	61,753	38,247
9. England	65,316	34,684
10. Scotland	69,235	30,765
11. British America	69,401	30,599
12. Denmark	69,908	30,092
13. Russia	70,575	29,425
14. Italy........................	73,928	26,062
15. Ireland....................	82,603	17,397
16. Spain and Portugal	83,049	16,951

N.B.—California and the Territories have not been taken into consideration.

TABLE II.

Corrected List.—Proportions.

	A.	B.	C.	D.
Norway	3,689	79,876	4,107	13,814
Holland	22,800	68,896	4,018	4,286
Switzerland	24,914	57,299	3,149	14,638
Sweden	30,889	37,456	20,529	11,512
Denmark	36,823	15,109	32,915	15,549
Germany	37,480	40,558	9,637	12,325
France	45,712	36,428	5,238	12,592
Belgium	47,479	29,713	14,274	8,534
Italy	49,693	10,045	26,406	13,470
Russia	49,809	15,374	15,909	18,298
Spain and Portugal	51,154	6,806	33,154	9,220
Wales	57,982	38,539	1,855	6,624
British America	58,599	25,080	6,273	10,434
England	60,341	30,337	4,975	4,347
Scotland	61,203	25,749	8,032	5,016
Ireland	75,405	13,723	7,198	3,674

TABLE III.

Corrected List.—Proportions.

	A + C.	B + D.	A + B.	C + D.
1. Norway	7,796	93,690	83,565	17,921
2. Holland	26,818	73,182	91,696	8,304
3. Switzerland	28,063	71,927	82,213	17,787
4. Germany	47,117	52,883	78,038	21,962
5. France	50,950	49,020	82,140	17,830
6. Sweden	51,418	48,968	68,345	32,041
7. Wales	59,837	40,163	96,521	3,479
8. Belgium	61,753	38,247	77,192	22,808
9. British America	64,872	35,514	83,679	16,707
10. England	65,316	34,684	90,678	9,322
11. Russia	65,718	33,672	65,183	34,207
12. Scotland	69,235	30,765	86,952	13,048
13. Denmark	69,738	30,658	51,932	48,464
14. Italy	76,099	23,515	59,738	39,876
15. Ireland	82,603	17,397	89,128	10,872
16. Spain and Portugal	84,308	16,026	57,960	42,374

TABLE IV.
Corrected List.—Proportions.

	A + 2 B + D.	A + 2 C + D.
1. Denmark	82,590	118,202
2. Italy	83,253	115,975
3. Spain and Portugal	93,986	126,682
4. Russia	98,855	99,925
5. Ireland	106,525	93,475
6. Belgium	115,439	84,561
7. Sweden....................	117,313	83,459
8. Scotland	117,717	82,283
9. British America	119,193	81,579
10. England	125,362	74,638
11. Germany	130,911	69,079
12. France	131,160	68,760
13. Wales	136,684	63,316
14. Switzerland	154,140	45,850
15. Holland	164,878	35,122
16. Norway...................	177,255	25,717

TABLE V.
Corrected List.—Proportions.

	B.	C.
1. Spain and Portugal	6,806	33,154
2. Italy	10,045	26,406
3. Ireland	13,723	7,198
4. Denmark	15,109	32,915
5. Russia	15,374	15,909
6. British America	25,080	6,273
7. Scotland	25,749	8,032
8. Belgium	29,713	14,274
9. England	30,337	4,975
10. France	36,428	5,238
11. Sweden....................	37,456	20,529
12. Wales	38,539	1,855
13. Germany	40,558	9,637
14. Switzerland	57,299	3,149
15. Holland	68,896	4,018
16. Norway...................	79,876	4,107

TABLE VI.

Showing the Numbers of the Natives of each Group of States, resident in their own or in other Groups.

New Englanders Resident.		Natives of New York Group Resident.		Natives of Delaware Group Resident.		Natives of S. Carolina Group Resident.	
In New England Group	2,367,832	In New York Group	4,566,495	In Delaware Group	2,490,484	In South Carolina Group	874,510
In New York Group ...	237,367	In New England Group....	47,035	In New York Group ...	57,153	In New York Group......	3,120
,, Michigan do. ...	63,487	,, Michigan do. ...	252,589	,, New England do. ...	3,925	,, New England do.......	1,440
,, Ohio do. ...	113,220	,, Ohio do. ...	496,544	,, Michigan do. ...	17,102	,, Michigan do.......	1,546
				,, Ohio do. ...	267,184	,, Ohio do........	13,697
Total in Free States	414,074	Total in Free States	796,168	Total in Free States	345,364	Total in Free States	19,803
In Delaware Group ...	7,532	In Delaware Group	40,669	In South Carolina Group	61,445	In Delaware States	6,514
,, South Carolina do....	6,480	,, South Carolina do.	12,105	,, Tennessee do.	259,429	,, Tennessee do.	29,967
,, Tennessee do....	6,252	,, Tennessee do. ...	29,250	,, Alabama do. ...	74,993	,, Alabama do.	172,191
,, Alabama do....	3,720	,, Alabama do. ...	5,681	,, Texas do. ...	23,287	,, Texas do.	28,623
,, Texas do.....	1,848	,, Texas do. ...	3,155				
Total in Slave States	25,832	Total in Slave States	90,860	Total in Slave States	419,154	Total in Slave States	237,295
Total migration............	439,896	Total migration	887,028	Total migration............	764,518	Total migration............	257,098
Proportion of ditto to} Free States	94,128	Proportion to Free States	89,757	Proportion of ditto to} Free States..............	45,175	Proportion to Free States	7,702
Do. to Slave States......	5,872	Do. Slave States	10,243	Do. to Slave States	54,825	Do. Slave States	92,298
Number in Michigan and Ohio Groups ...}	176,707	Do. Ohio Group	55,978	Do. to Ohio Group	34,944		
Proportion	42,676	Do. Tennessee Group......}	3,712	Do. to Tennessee do. ...	33,928		
Number in South Caro-lina and Delaware Group}	14,012						
Proportion	3,384						

Total migration from old Free States to Slave States............... 90,860 + 25,832 = 116,692
Do. from old Slave States to Free States................ 345,444 + 19,884 = 365,328
Lost to Slave States, and gained by Free States................ 365,528 − 116,692 = 248,636

Names of States composing the several Groups.

FREE.

New England Group:	New York Group:	Michigan Group:	Ohio Group:
Maine	New York	Michigan	Ohio
Vermont	New Jersey	Wisconsin	Indiana
New Hampshire	Pennsylvania	Iowa	Illinois
Massachusetts			
Rhode Island			
Connecticut			

SLAVE.

Delaware Group:	Alabama Group:	Texas Group:
Delaware	Alabama	Texas
Maryland	Florida	Arkansas
Virginia	Mississippi	
District of Columbia		
North Carolina	South Carolina Group:	Tennessee Group:
	South Carolina	Tennessee
	Georgia	Kentucky
	Louisiana	Missouri

California and the Territories have not been taken into consideration.

Reference to the Map.

Division A composed of .... $\begin{cases} 1. \text{ New England Group.} \\ 2. \text{ New York Group.} \end{cases}$

Division B composed of .... $\begin{cases} 3. \text{ Michigan Group.} \\ 4. \text{ Ohio Group.} \end{cases}$

Division C composed of .... $\begin{cases} 5. \text{ Delaware Group.} \\ 6. \text{ South Carolina Group.} \end{cases}$

Division D composed of........... $\begin{cases} 7. \text{ Tennessee Group.} \\ 8. \text{ Alabama Group.} \\ 9. \text{ Texas Group.} \end{cases}$